UNESCO

Photo Cerri, UNICEF

A time to live...

39 Bolivia

Round numbers

This pupil at school in the Bolivian town of Corocoro is learning arithmetic with the aid of an abacus designed by her teacher who has used old bottle tops as counters. In the rural areas of Bolivia, where the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) is helping the government to spread formal education as widely as possible, teaching aids are in short supply and are mostly made by the teachers themselves. The abacus is one of the oldest counting devices known to man. Its name is thought to derive from the ancient Phoenician word *abak* describing sand strewn on a surface for writing.

UNESCO
The Courier
A window open on the world

Editorial

THE origins of war are intermingled with the origins of mankind. Indeed, history was for long summarily reduced to little more than a catalogue of a series of conflicts. There was not only one "Hundred Years War", but centuries of waste of human lives.

The desire for peace, however, is just as ancient as the instinct to destroy, and the vision of a united planet had haunted mankind long before it assumed definite shape at a Conference in London in 1945, when men and governments decided to give it a new meaning. Scarcely had men emerged from the bloodiest of human conflicts than they suddenly seemed to become aware of the unity of their species, proposing to create what the French poet Paul Eluard called "Man with the face of man". They wished to turn values upside down.

This was no longer the isolated cry of a poet, a prophet or a visionary preaching to an indifferent world, but the commitment of men and women speaking different tongues but a common language: "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed".* More than an act of faith, the words of Archibald MacLeish spell out the lesson learned from a grim and horrifying reality. Crimes against humanity had been committed by men who knew how to read. Medical doctors, in the name of science, had used women and children as guinea pigs, as fuel. Men of taste had provided a theory for this carnage and encouraged it, just as they had ordered Heine's poetry to be burned. And so, in 1945, on the banks of the Thames, governments affirmed that education, science and culture should no longer be a law unto themselves, nor a servant for Caesar.

How do things stand now? Such an objective is not achieved from one year to the next, nor from one plan to the next. Even today, on the fortieth anniversary of the signing of Unesco's Constitution, we still have to fight against "that ignorance of each other's ways and lives [which] has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war." *

This is why, at a time when the United Nations system as a whole is undergoing a searching re-appraisal, it was decided that this issue of the *Unesco Courier*, should commemorate not the customary anniversary (4 November 1946, the date on which Unesco's Constitution came into force) but the birth, with the signing of the Constitution on 16 November 1945, of the Unesco ideal and the efforts of the men and women whose passionate commitment made possible this expression of belief in mankind and hope for the future. If anniversaries are occasions for reflection, may this anniversary be an occasion for us to meditate on this message, too often ignored or lost sight of, from the founding fathers.

* The Preamble to Unesco's Constitution

Henri Lopes

COVER: Gouache by the American artist Alexander Calder (1898-1976), from the book *Calder à Saché*, published by *Les Editions du Cercle d'Art*, Paris, 1975. © Cercle d'Art, Paris- ADAGP

Editor-in-Chief: Edouard Glissant

October 1985
38th year

This issue of the *Unesco Courier* is special on two counts. Firstly, it celebrates the fortieth anniversary of the signing in London, on 16th November 1945, of the Constitution of Unesco. Secondly, within the framework of the programme of innovation and modernization now being implemented throughout the Organization, it is the first fully computerized issue of the English, French and Spanish editions of the *Unesco Courier* to be prepared entirely within Unesco up to the final photogravure and printing stage. To mark this occasion we are happy to have obtained the collaboration of the Assistant Director-General, of the General Activities and Programme Support Sector, Mr. Henri Lopes, as guest editorialist.

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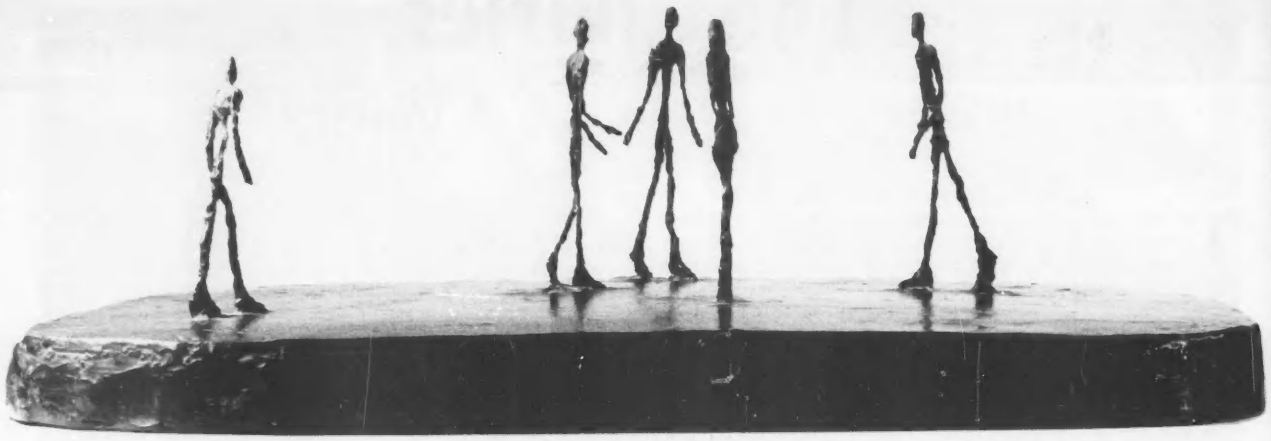

La Place ***(1950), sculpture in bronze (17 x 64 cm) by the Swiss-born artist Alberto Giacometti (1901-1966).***

Photo Mirko Lion © ADAGP 1985
Peggy Guggenheim Collection,
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The Governments of the States Parties to this Constitution on behalf of their peoples declare:

That since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed;

That ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war;

That the great and terrible war which has now ended was a war made possible by the denial of the democratic principles of the dignity, equality and mutual respect of men, and by the propagation, in their place, through ignorance and prejudice, of the doctrine of the inequality of men and races;

That the wide diffusion of culture, and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace are indispensable to the dignity of man and constitute a sacred duty which all the nations must fulfil in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern;

That a peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments would not be a peace which could secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world, and that the peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind.

For these reasons, the States Parties to this Constitution, believing in full and equal opportunities for education for all, in the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth, and in the free exchange of ideas and knowledge, are agreed and determined to develop and to increase the means of communication between their peoples and to employ these means for the purposes of mutual understanding and a truer and more perfect knowledge of each other's lives;

In consequence whereof they do hereby create the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization for the purpose of advancing, through the educational and scientific and cultural relations of the peoples of the world, the objectives of international peace and of the common welfare of mankind for which the United Nations Organization was established and which its Charter proclaims.

Preamble to the Constitution of Unesco,
London, 16 November 1945

Birth of an ideal

by Howard Brabyn

UNESCO, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, would almost certainly never have come into being, at least in its present form, had it not been for the very special conditions that existed in London during the Second World War.

With great tracts of Europe occupied by Axis forces, Britain's bomb-scarred capital was the temporary home of seven Allied Governments-in-exile and of General de Gaulle's Free French Committee, of statesmen, diplomats and generals, of intellectuals and refugees, and of ordinary men and women come from all corners of the earth to fight for freedom. It was a microcosm of a world in ferment.

Although the overriding common purpose was the winning of the war, the presence in London of so many able men and women from so many countries also engendered an intellectual ferment which was to leave a permanent mark on the post-war world. Among these men and women were the education ministers of the Allied Governments in exile who at a critical point in the struggle against the Axis Powers had the vision and the courage to plan ahead for the task of reconstructing their educational systems after the war was over.

As Gian Franco Pompei (President of the Executive Board of Unesco from 1968 to 1970) was to write later:[1]

"We recall with admiration that on 16 November 1942, in a London then half in ruins, Richard A. Butler, President of the Board of Education of England and Wales, invited his colleagues from the Allied Powers in exile, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Greece, Netherlands, Norway, Poland and Yugoslavia, to meet, not just to discuss the problems of the moment, but also to plan the establishment after the war of a permanent organization for co-operation in the field of education."

The invitation was enthusiastically received and the first meeting of the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education (CAME) took place at Alexandra House, London, three years to the day before Unesco was born. All the countries invited were represented by their ministers of education or their deputies.

Although it spoke of educational needs in the post-war world, the letter of invitation made no specific mention of the possibility of creating a permanent international educational organization. Yet, as Denis Mylonas points out in his remarkable study *La Genèse de l'Unesco (The Genesis of Unesco)*[2], only two months later, during the second plenary session of CAME, this possibility was mooted by the Belgian delegate Jules Hoste in a document he had prepared concerning the intellectual relations between the United Kingdom and Europe in which he expressed the hope "that these relations which had been developed and institutionalized within the framework of the *International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation* (see page 6) would be vigorously renewed in more practical form after the war".

Meanwhile, a number of independent British and international organizations, including the *London International Assembly* (founded in 1941), the *Council for Education in World Citizenship*, the *British Association for the Advancement of Science* and the *Association of University Teachers*, spurred on perhaps by their contacts with the many European intellectuals in exile in London, were examining various aspects of the future of education in Europe in the post-war world.

The personal prestige of their members, among whom were numbered such men as Lord Robert Cecil, Henri Rolin, René Cassin, Jan Masaryk, Gilbert Murray and Julian Huxley, added great weight to their deliberations which, almost without exception, stressed the need for an international educational organization or organizations of one form or another and which were to have great influence on such governmental organizations as CAME.

Denis Mylonas describes how:

"In May 1943, during the fourth plenary session of CAME, an ad hoc *committee was formed to study a joint report* (Education and the United Nations) *drawn up by a joint committee of the* London International Assembly *and of the* Council for Education in World Citizenship. *This report proposed, among other things, the 'creation as soon as possible' of an international organization for education (...) The* ad hoc *committee considered that the creation of such an organization would be premature."*

Nevertheless, only a month later, in July 1943, delegates attending the fifth plenary session of CAME were talking of their own Conference as "containing the seed of an international educational organization".

Indeed, in the nine months of its existence, CAME had vastly extended the scope of its activities. It had created commissions on cultural conventions, on books and periodicals, on scientific matters, and on films and audio-visual media, as well as committees or sub-committees on history, the restitution of scientific equipment and on the restitution of works of art. To these would be added later further commissions on the protection and restitution of cultural objects and on school equipment, and another to enquire into the special educational problems of liberated countries, finance and drafting committees, committees on emergency assistance for teachers and on the re-education of children who had been subjected to nazi-inspired education, a technical sub-committee to the scientific commission, and sub-committees on educational broadcasts and on an international film centre. Just by looking at the titles of these commissions, committees and sub-committees, we can see emerging the hazy outlines of many of the important programmes with which Unesco is still very much concerned today.

Meanwhile, world interest in the activities of CAME was growing and towards the end of 1943 the delegates decided that the time had come to enlarge the Conference by giving full delegate status to those countries until then represented only by observers. By now the concept of the creation of an international organization was fully accepted, and in its letter of invitation to the US Government the Conference declared that among "the objects of the reconstituted Conference would be to consider plans for the formation of a permanent organization, at first confined to the United Nations[3], but eventually to be placed on an international basis with the object of promoting co-operation in educational matters in the post-war period".

The United States Government accepted this invitation with alacrity and enthusiasm. In its reply it acknowledged "the important preliminary work done by the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education" and recognized it as "a useful agency for the further emergency development of international co-operation

CONTINUED PAGE 12

(1) *In the Minds of Men*, Unesco, 1972
(2) *La Genèse de l'Unesco: La Conférence des Ministres Alliés de l'Education (1942-1945)*, by Denis Mylonas, Bruylant, Brussels, 1976.
(3) Here the term *United Nations* refers to those nations that had signed the *Declaration by United Nations* on 1 January 1942; the *United Nations Organization* did not then exist.

Photo © Edimedia, Paris

The French philosopher Henri Bergson (1859-1941)

Photo © Edimedia, Paris

The Polish-born French physicist Marie Curie (1867-1934), famous for her work on radioactivity and twice winner of the Nobel Prize (1903 and 1911).

The precursors

IF the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education (CAME) was to play the unusual role of mother and midwife at the birth of Unesco, the new baby that was born on 16 November 1945 could trace its antecedents back some twenty years to an emanation of the League of Nations, the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, and an institution which started out as an autonomous, non-governmental organization, the International Bureau of Education.

International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation (IIIC)

In 1922, following a proposal made by the French statesman and Nobel Peace Prize winner Léon Bourgeois, the League of Nations established an *International Commission for Intellectual Co-operation (ICIC)* which was composed of twelve members and which was to be responsible for international questions relating to international co-operation.

The Commission was made up of an impressive array of great thinkers including, for example, Henri Bergson, its first president, Marie Curie, Albert Einstein and Gilbert Murray. With the woefully inadequate financial resources made available to them, however, they could do little more than exchange letters and come together for an annual session of discussion to which there was virtually no follow-up.

In reply to president Henri Bergson's

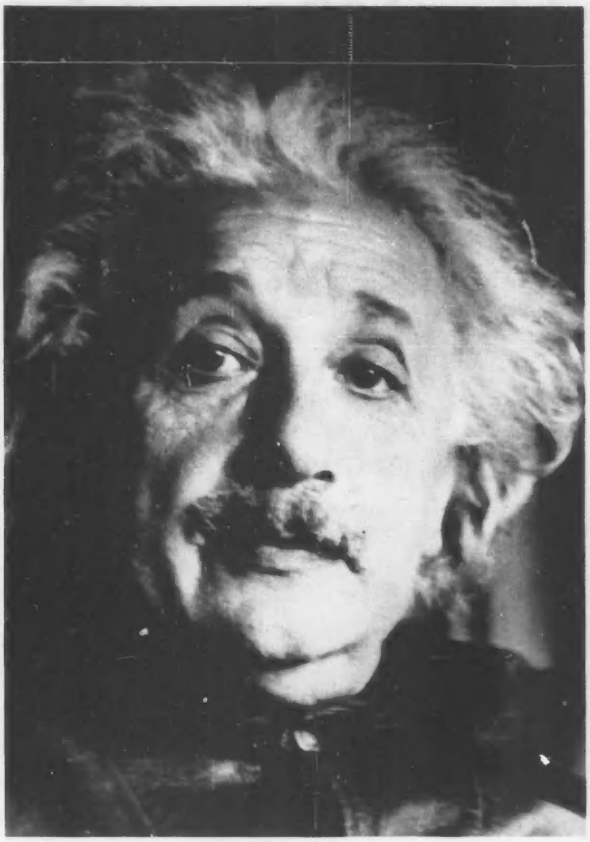


Photo © Associated Press, Paris

Albert Einstein (1879-1955). The great physicist played a leading role in the work of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

Photo © Keystone, Paris

The Swiss psychologist Jean Piaget (1896-1980) was Director of the International Bureau of Education from 1929 to 1968.

plea for help, the French Government offered to create in Paris and to finance an *International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation*, and, in 1926, with the blessing of the Assembly of the League of Nations, the IIIC came into being.

Properly financed and staffed by a permanent Secretariat, the IIIC breathed new life into international intellectual co-operation. The Institute established seven sections which dealt with: general affairs, relations between universities, libraries and scientific unions, juridical questions concerning intellectual property and the conditions of intellectual labour, translations and the exchange of literary works between nations, museums and artistic relations, and information and relations with the press and other media.

We begin to see the embryonic outlines of things to come.

International Bureau of Education (IBE)

After the First World War, although individual educationists and intellectuals called insistently for an international organization to promote co-operation between countries in education, governments tended to guard jealously their right to unqualified control over the education process within their boundaries. Indeed, the League of Nations expressly limited the educational activities of the IIIC to theoretical pedagogical matters and declared that it should "abstain from activities concerning educational questions which belong to the realm of the sovereign Member States."

This, however, merely had the effect of encouraging independent action and, in 1925, the *International Bureau of Education* was founded in Geneva as a non-governmental organization. This was made possible through the sponsorship of the Jean-Jacques Rousseau Institute of the University of Geneva. Despite the support of this prestigious body, the IBE soon found itself hampered by lack of funds and, in 1929, it became a mainly intergovernmental organization when a number of States met in Geneva to draw up and sign a new constitution. However, the reformed IBE still remained independent of the League of Nations.

The main objectives of the IBE were to act as an information clearing house for all matters connected with education, to gather information concerning both private and public education, and to undertake scientific and statistical research in the educational field.

During the Second World War the activities of the IBE were severely curtailed. Its efforts were concentrated on the humanitarian work of supplying "intellectual aid" to prisoners of war of all nationalities. Altogether it sent some 600,000 volumes of scientific and literary works to prisoner of war camps.

With the emergence of Unesco it became clear that the new organization was better placed to carry out many of the functions of the IBE, and in 1947 a provisional agreement was drawn up between the two bodies for their future unification. In 1968, under the terms of a new agreement, the old IBE ceased to exist, its functions being fully assumed by Unesco. A new IBE was established in Geneva, under the aegis of Unesco, as an international centre for comparative educational studies. ■

‘The life of the mind’

Below and on the opposite page we present extracts from four speeches made during the “Conference for the Establishment of an Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization of the United Nations”, held in London from 1 to 16 November 1945.

Photo © Keystone, Paris

Clement Attlee (later Earl Attlee, 1883-1967)

“In the new world order towards which we are moving it is essential that we should have appropriate machinery to deal with each of the major fields of human activity (...) However we classify the principal elements in the public life of the world it would be impossible to exclude from our classification that large and significant field of activity which can be described broadly as the life of the mind. This covers not only the special field of education in all its branches and at all its stages, it includes the whole intellectual realm with its ‘many goodly states and kingdoms’, the sciences, the humanities, the fine arts, research for the advancement of knowledge and the whole vast territory in which ideas are disseminated. The field of educational and cultural relationships is surely one of the richest and most significant in the international life of the world. We cannot be content until our new world organization provides for the fullest and most beneficent development of these relationships. Do not wars, after all, begin in the minds of men?”

Clement R. Attlee
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom
London, 1 November 1945

Photo © Keystone, Paris

Ellen Wilkinson (1891-1947) addressing a peace rally in Trafalgar Square, London

“We are met at the end of the greatest war in history, against the background of two continents with their attendant islands, across which the fires of war have raged. Even now the embers still glow, and here and there the flames still flicker. All of us here—all the nations that we represent—have taken some part in this great struggle. All have ranged themselves under the flag of freedom and against aggression and oppression. Many of us have drunk together from a common cup of sorrow and sacrifice. Now we are met together; workers in education, in scientific research and in the varied fields of culture. We represent those who teach, those who discover, those who write, those who express their inspiration in music and art. We have a high responsibility, for entrusted to us is the task of creating some part—and not the least important part—of that structure of the United Nations on which rest our hopes for the future of mankind. It is for us to clear the channels through which may flow from nation to nation the streams of knowledge and thought, of truth and beauty which are the foundations of true civilization.”

Ellen Wilkinson
President of the Conference
Minister of Education, United Kingdom
London, 1 November 1945

Photo Unesco

Jaime Torres Bodet (1902-1974), is here seen (third from left) during his term as Unesco's second Director-General (1948-1952) with a group of exchange students.

"We believe that the intellectualism of the eighteenth century and the materialism of the nineteenth should give place in the twentieth to the conception of a true and balanced integration of man. That is why—while the education of the intellectual faculties was the chief concern of those systems which are now obsolete, and while the education of the will has resulted in extremes of imperialism that we condemn—the horizons now open to our view will demand of us a form of education aiming at international co-operation through the medium of truth, virtue in all its significance, and democracy."

Jaime Torres Bodet
Delegate of Mexico
London, 2 November 1945

"Our duty will be more completely defined when our charter has been adopted by all the United Nations, and when, on what I hope may not be a far distant day, we have the great Soviet Republic in our midst (...). We shall never lose sight of the fact, so adequately expressed at the opening of our deliberations, that it is not the sum of knowledge that is to be the distinguishing mark of the activities of our future Organization, but the development of culture. One of our great authors has said: 'Science without conscience is but the ruin of the soul.' We can say: 'Knowledge without morality can only result in barbarism.' We who know that there can be no democracy without culture, will direct our efforts towards adding something else to knowledge: a great ideal, a clear vision of the great problems to be solved in the cause of international peace and, lastly, and perhaps most important of all, the mastery of self."

René Cassin
Delegate of France
London, 16 November 1945

Photo © Keystone, Paris

René Cassin (1887-1976) photographed in London during the Second World War

Photo © Keystone, Paris

Stamp commemorating the signature of the Charter of the United Nations at San Francisco on 26 June 1945 shows the Memorial Opera House, where the signing ceremony took place, and the UN emblem.

The San Francisco Conference

The Second World War was nearly over when the United Nations Conference on International Organization (UNCIO) convened in San Francisco on 25 April 1945 to complete the work, started long before, of drawing up the Charter of the United Nations. This Charter was signed by heads of delegations on 26 June with the understanding that it woult come into effect (and that the organization would officiallly come into existence) when it had been ratified by China, France, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and by a majority of the other signatory States. This condition was met on 24 October which is therefore the birthday of the United Nations, celebrated as United Nations Day. Opposite page, brief extracts from three addresses given at the final plenary session of the Conference.

On 25 April 1945, crowds line the outside of the San Francisco Memorial Opera House as delegates enter the building for the opening session of the United Nations Conference on International Organization (UNCIO) at which the Charter of the United Nations was drafted.

Photo © Keystone, Paris

Photo United Nations

President Harry S. Truman (1884-1972) speaking at the 16th plenary session of the San Francisco Conference, on 26 June 1945.

Photo United Nations

Andrei Gromyko, then Soviet ambassador to the United States, signs the Charter.

"(...) That we now have this Charter at all is a great wonder. It is also a cause for profound thanksgiving to Almighty God, who has brought us so far in our search for peace through world organization. There were many who doubted that agreement could ever be reached by these fifty countries differing so much in race and religion, in language and culture. But these differences were all forgotten in one unshakable unity of determination—to find a way to end war. Out of all the arguments and disputes, and different points of view, a way was found to agree. Here in the spotlight of full publicity, in the tradition of liberty-loving people, opinions were expressed openly and freely. The faith and hope of fifty peaceful nations were laid before this world forum. Differences were overcome. This Charter was not the work of any single nation or group of nations, large or small. It was the result of a spirit of give and take, of tolerance for the views and interests of others. It was proof that nations, like men, can state their differences, can face them, and then can find common ground on which to stand. That is the essence of democracy; and that is the essence of keeping the peace in the future. By your agreement, the way was shown toward future agreement in the years to come (...)"

Harry S. Truman
President of the United States of America

"(...) The small nations, who have displayed in this Conference a great sense of responsibility, noble co-operation and dignity, are destined to fulfil a great mission: to tend with devotion and courage the sacred fire of Law. They will not be alone in this luminous task, for the common men of all nations, great and small, hold the same aspirations and have the same faith in a common destiny. Whenever the cause of justice will raise its banner, the peoples, great and small, shall cry with the same conviction, shall act with the same strength (...) Our faith must rest, not on the great or the small nations, but upon the common men of all nations. All peoples, large and small, fully know that the world cannot bear the terrible stress of another total war without turning back to the dark ages. There is, therefore, a peremptory necessity to live in peace. Let us have reciprocal confidence, let us have the full measure of our goodwill (...)"

The Honourable Ezequiel Padilla
Chairman of the Delegation of Mexico

Photo United Nations

The Mexican jurist Ezequiel Padilla (1892-1971), Minister of Foreign Relations (1940-1945).

"(...) In the course of the work of the Conference there were some difficulties and differences of view between separate delegations on these or other questions. However, one should be surprised not at the existence of these difficulties and not at the existence of different viewpoints between separate delegations on these or other questions, but at the fact that, as a result of the work of the Conference, all the main difficulties were overcome, and we succeeded in fulfilling successfully the tasks before the Conference. We prepared a document which should become the basis for the actions of the International Organization—its constitution. Naturally, the very best and most perfect Charter in itself is not yet a guarantee that its provisions will be carried out and ensure the preservation of peace. In order to achieve this important and noble task it is also necessary, in addition to the existing Charter, to have the unity and co-ordination of actions of members of the International Organization, and first of all the unity and co-ordination of actions between the most powerful military powers in the world. It is also necessary that all members of the International Organization should try to settle all disputes by peaceful means in the spirit of co-operation and goodwill (...)"

The Honourable Andrei Gromyko
Acting Chairman of the Delegation of the USSR

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

in educational and cultural reconstruction". It also declared that "the governments collaborating in the Conference should take steps, with other interested governments, to seek the best means for establishing a United Nations agency for educational and cultural reconstruction, organized and administered along democratic lines".

Thus, by April 1944, the United States was represented at the Conference in London by a strong delegation which included J. William Fulbright and a man who was to play an important role in the preparation and drafting of the constitution of Unesco—the poet and Librarian of the American Congress Archibald MacLeish.

The American delegation had arrived with already well-formed proposals for a "United Nations Organization for Educational and Cultural Reconstruction" and these were discussed at two special "enlarged" meetings of the Conference and a tentative draft constitution was elaborated. After discussion of this draft at the tenth plenary session of CAME, at which the Conference accepted a minor but significant amendment proposed by the chairman of the Scientific Commission, it was sent by the Chairman of CAME, Richard Butler, to the governments of all members and associate members of the United Nations, as well as to institutions with links with the United Nations, for consideration and comment.

The amendment mentioned above proposed the addition to a paragraph concerning the exchange of information on problems of education and culture of the words "including scientific research". Innocuous enough on the face of it, the addition of this phrase was an indication of the pressure that was building up to extend the importance of science in the activities of the proposed new organization.

Reactions to the United States proposals were generally favourable, but were to be influenced by the outcome of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, held in Washington from 21 August to 7 October 1944, which was to pave the way for the creation of the United Nations Organization during the following year at the San Francisco Conference. The Dumbarton Oaks Conference had given cautious approval to the concept of an educational and cultural organization, but everything would depend on the Conference at San Francisco at which the Charter of the United Nations was finally to be adopted. Work at the London Conference came virtually to a standstill, the general feeling being clearly expressed in a declaration in March 1945 by Richard Butler, chairman of CAME, that "the creation of a United Nations Educational Organization should have the closest possible connexion with any organization created by the San Francisco Conference".

The eagerly awaited *United Nations Conference on International Organization* opened in San Francisco on 25 April 1945, and when it closed, two months later, it had not only agreed the Charter of the United Nations Organization (which came officially into force on 24 October 1945), but had also approved a French recommendation "that governments should convene within the next few months a general conference to draw up the statute of an international organization on cultural co-operation". It also recorded an addendum by the United States delegation, speaking in support of the French proposal, mentioning "the plans of the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education to call in the near future a United Nations conference for the establishment of an international organization on education and cultural co-operation. The Government of the United Kingdom had been requested to convene such a conference."

The way ahead was now clear for the creation of the new specialized agency of the United Nations, and on 12 July 1945, following the nineteenth plenary session of CAME, British minister of education Richard Law issued a press release announcing that "A conference is to be held in London on November 1 next, to consider the establishment of a United Nations Educational and Cultural Organization".

On 3 and 4 August 1945 invitations were despatched to the governments concerned, the French Government being specially associated with the British Government as inviting power. A working committee to prepare the Conference was established, and on 1 November 1945 the Conference for the Establishment of the United Nations Educational and Cultural Organization began its work at the Institute of Civil Engineers, one of the few buildings in London large enough to house such an important meeting that had not been damaged by bombs.

The Conference started out to establish *Uneco*; it ended up establishing *Unesco*. For some time past a number of eminent scientists, including, in particular, Joseph Needham and Julian Huxley, had been pressing for the inclusion of science in the title of the new organization (see page 21). In her opening speech on the first day of the Conference, the chairman of the Conference, Ellen Wilkinson, had announced the intention of the British delegation to propose the inclusion of science in the organization's title. During the third plenary session, the Chinese delegate, Hu Shih, declared his support for the British proposition, and by the end of the Conference *Unesco* was firmly established as the name of the new organization. There can be little doubt that the events of August 6 and 9 at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, still fresh in all their horror in delegates' minds, had considerable bearing on this decision.

The Conference took place in an atmosphere quite remarkable for its sense of urgent purpose, of determination to succeed in what was seen as a task of crucial world importance, and of refusal to allow minor differences to stand in the way of the main objective.

The tone was set from the outset by the US delegate Archibald MacLeish. In a speech in which he seconded Léon Blum's motion that Ellen Wilkinson, the new British Minister of Education, be elected President of the Conference, he declared:

"(...) The achievement of greater and more effective international co-operation in the field of education, as in the fields of culture generally—of science and the arts—is the immediate purpose of this meeting. But that purpose has behind it a greater and even more moving objective—the common understanding of the masses of the people in this world (...)

The universal languages of communication have always existed in the sciences and in the arts and in the language of the human spirit. Human science has provided those universal languages with instruments, in the last few years, by which men can speak to men across the frontiers of the world, by which the peoples of the world may speak and answer (...) What remains to do is what we have been called here to accomplish: to create a social instrument through which these instruments of communication, these universal languages, may be put to the service of the common hope for peace (...)"

The Conference achieved this goal with remarkable unanimity and despatch. At three o'clock in the afternoon of Friday 16 November 1945, the President of the Conference, Ellen Wilkinson, opened the tenth plenary session at which delegates formally signed the *Final Act*, the *Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization*, and the *Instrument Establishing a Preparatory Educational, Scientific and Cultural Commission*.

Once again Archibald MacLeish found the right words to sum up the feelings of all the delegates at the close of the Conference:

"(...) I think, speaking in all frankness, that some of us who came to this Conference came with narrower ideas of what this Organization was going to be than the ideas with which we leave it. Some of us thought it was to be an international organization for this or for that or the other piece of the whole objective; but I think not one of us knew we should be constructing here a great and powerful instrument for the broadest possible purpose, which is the purpose of the common understanding of men for peace (...)" ■

HOWARD BRABYN *is editor of the English edition of the* Unesco Courier.

The Institute of Civil Engineers, in London, where the Conference to establish Unesco was held in November 1945.

Photo © Institute of Civil Engineers, London

The mood of Britain, 1945

by Asa Briggs

"The air of England has a curious quality. We all complain about it one way or another when we come to it—the physical air of England—but, oddly enough, we can all live in it, no matter where we come from. It is a mild air, it is a medial air, it has no extremes about it, and we can all live here. And what is true of men physically is true of men's ideas. This air has always been hospitable to ideas; it has always been hospitable to freedom; and we are men who love freedom."

Archibald MacLeish, 16 November 1945

THE word "revolution" was sometimes used in Britain to describe the transformation of ways of life and, equally important, of attitudes since the beginning of the Second World War. The scientist Julian Huxley, who was to become Director-General of Unesco in 1946, had published a volume of essays in 1944 with the title *On Living in a Revolution* which caught the mood. Of course, not everyone shared the sense. There had always been people who were unwilling to chart plans for "reconstruction" until long after the War had been won, and there were some who in the year of victory stressed continuity rather than change, fearing change rather than welcoming it.

Huxley, well known to the war-time public through his broadcasts in the BBC's immensely popular programme the *Brains Trust*, in which everything was discussed except the War, had no doubts. The first of his essays, written as early as 1942, described how there had already by then been "a re-thinking of old problems" and a "transvaluation of values" in Britain since the War began. Social services were being extended, old class dividing lines crossed, and planning was being taken for granted. Economic man had given way to "social man". After the War was over people would not want to return to the ways of 1939. "As a result", he concluded, "we now live in quite a different world."

Huxley had made his reputation as a writer on biological evolution. He concluded quite deliberately, however, in his essays that only the word "revolution" was adequate to cover what had been happening not only in people's minds but on the world stage. It was a world revolution which he contemplated, not just a "revolution" in Britain. Certain trends within the revolution were "inevitable" and "universal". One was towards "a more conscious social purpose". Another was towards "a fuller utilization of the resources of backward countries". The question was one not of trends but of methods. "The chief alternatives depend on whether the revolution is effected in a democratic or a totalitarian way."

Nothing could have been more democratic than Britain's general election of July 1945 which displanted Britain's great war leader, Winston Churchill, and which brought the Labour Party into power with a massive over-all majority of 146 seats in the new Parliament. In one of the most readable of Britain's contemporary diaries Harold Nicolson, who lost his own seat, wrote simply "Churchill is out and Attlee has a clear majority! Nobody foresaw this at all." Yet there were people who foresaw it and had foreseen it for some years as the logical outcome of a "people's war" and the development of a "citizens' army" which had been encouraged to think. "This is the dawn of a new day", declared the new Minister of Labour with unsurprising enthusiasm, "and in the light of it we are going to march forward to those things of which we have dreamed for years past."

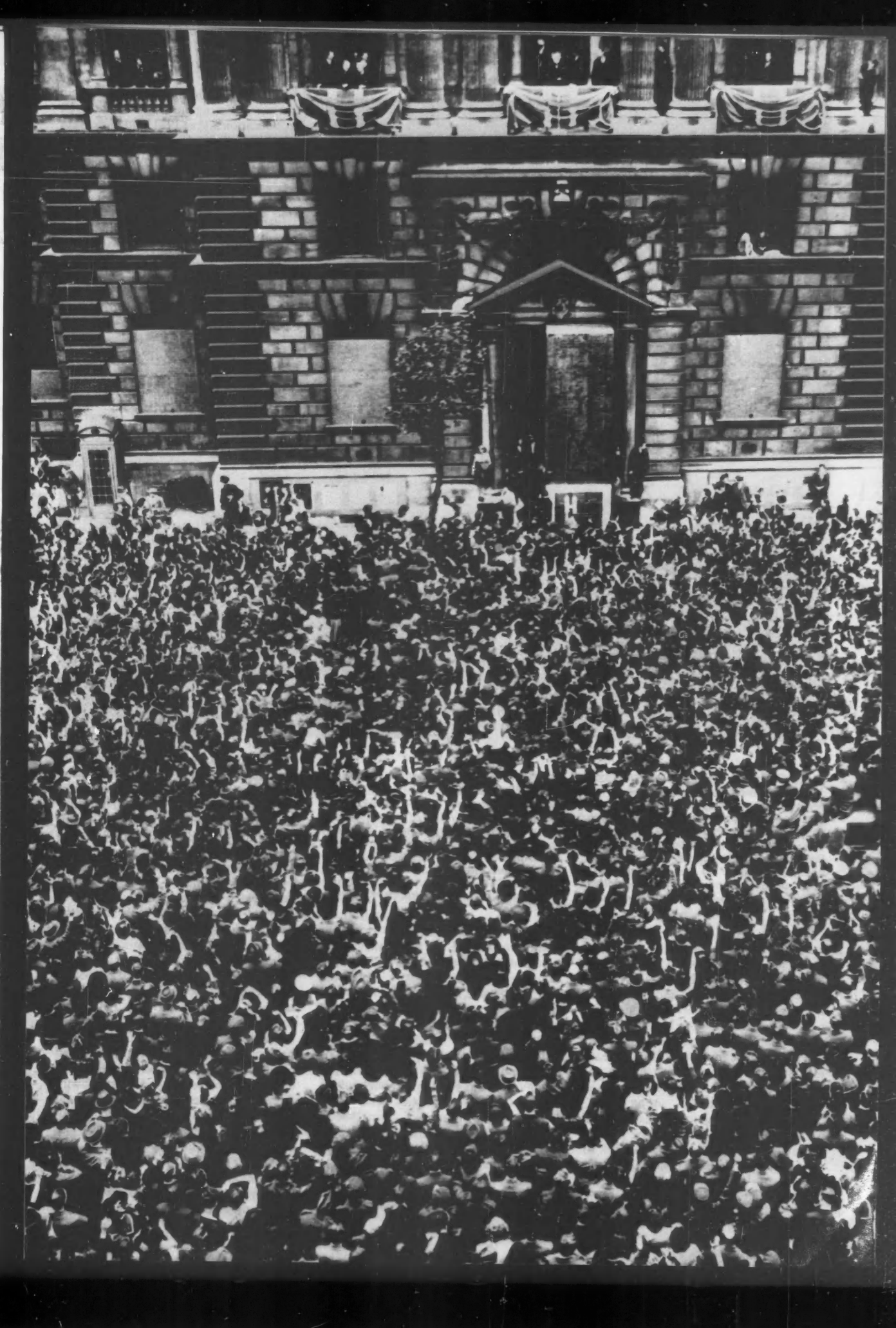
It is easy in retrospect to analyse the remarkable social and political conjunctions of 1945 in a more sophisticated fashion than was possible in 1945, although even in the immediate aftermath of the election its first academic analyst, R.B. McCallum, was at pains to insist that even if it might be called a revolution it was as well to avoid the word. "Revolution is a cant word of the day and is applied to almost any movement of human affairs."

Certainly there was no element of force or coercion in the domestic politics of 1945; the verdict was free. Nor was the Conservative Party overwhelmed in terms of the total number of votes cast nationally. In fact, Labour was in a minority of 47.8 per cent and the Conservative Party was to return to power, once more under Churchill, in 1951. Above all, the Labour Party itself was less radical in 1945 than Conservatives claimed during the heat of the general election campaign; it was wooing a broad spectrum of the electorate, and many of the policies it propounded had been forged as part of a war-time national consensus in which different parties shared and to which they all contributed. Moreover, it inherited rather than designed the planning controls deemed necessary to implement them. The economy was to be "mixed". "Labour will plan from the ground up", its election manifesto *Labour Face the Future* stated, "giving an appropriate place to constructive enterprise and private endeavour in the national plan."

There was a reasonably broad consensus on foreign policy in 1945 with the only ▶

On 8 May 1945, the day the Third Reich capitulated and peace returned to Europe after 5 years and 8 months of bloody war, prime minister Winston Churchill and members of his cabinet received a rapturous welcome as they appeared on the balcony of the Ministry of Health in London.

Photo © Imapress, Paris



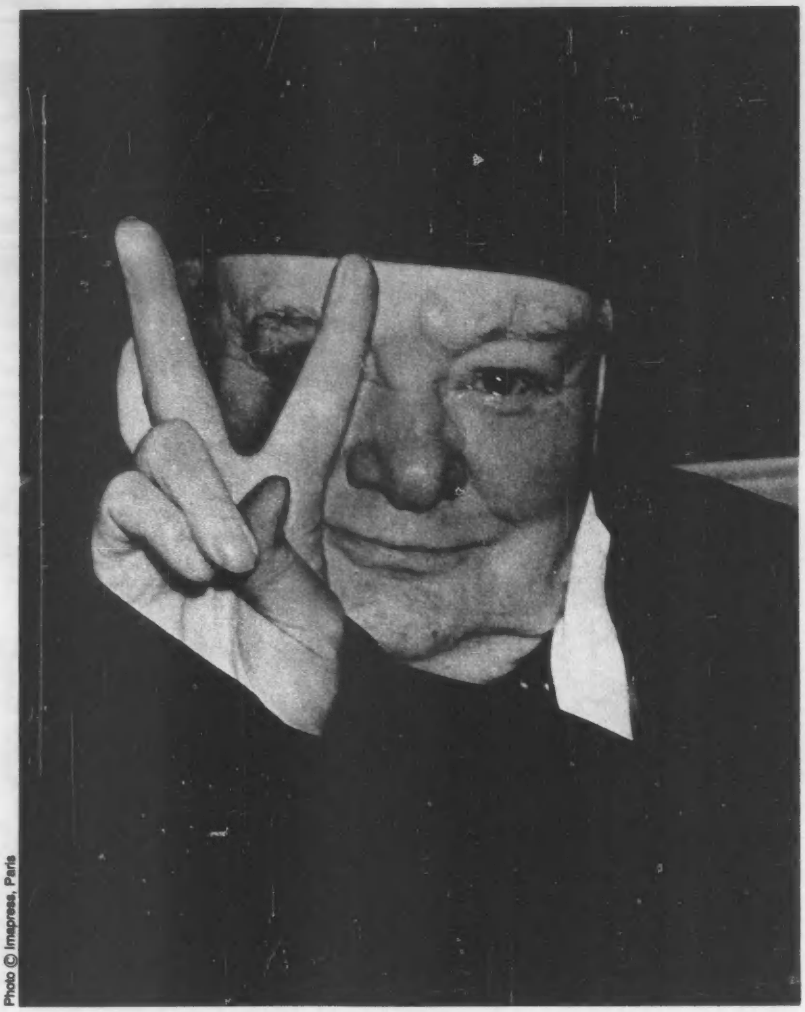


Photo © Imapress, Paris

In May 1940, Winston Churchill (1874-1965), statesman, author and orator, became prime minister of the wartime coalition government that was to lead Britain to victory in 1945. In the darkest days of the Second World War he rallied the people of Britain behind him and, concentrating his boundless energy on the conduct of the war, became one of the principal architects of the Allied victory. Swept out of office in the Labour election landslide of July 1945, he became prime minister again for another four-year term from 1951-1955. The author of a number of books, including a biography of his famous ancestor,* Marlborough: his Life and Times, *and a six-volume history of* The Second World War, *he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1953. Above, a smiling Churchill gives his "V for Victory" salute.

▶ critics on the far left and far right. Much was made of the need to continue the alliance of "the Big Three"—the United States, the Soviet Union and Britain. All the main parties supported the idea of a new international organization "with teeth"; the teeth, in particular, mattered. It seemed more important also to create machinery that would work than to impose a quick peace; peacemaking was approached as a process, not an event.

Finally, in the making of peace, it was maintained, attention had to be paid to economic and social issues as well as to political and diplomatic concerns. As the authors of *Patterns of Peacemaking*, a much praised book of 1945, put it, "The last war slogans of 'homes fit for heroes' and 'a world safe for democracy' were modest hopes compared with the aspirations for social security, freedom from fear and want, full employment and world peace which have been generated by this war."

Education was considered to be a necessary agent not only in purging Germany and Italy from the grip of Nazism and Fascism but in bringing people of the world together, and Huxley participated in a London conference held in 1944 to consider new international machinery designed to extend the work of the *International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation*, a body associated with the League of Nations, and at the founding Conference of Unesco in London in 1945. One of the most important reforms in Britain carried out during the War itself had been an Education Act of 1944, and there were several meetings of Allied Ministers of Education from European governments in exile in London which considered the international implications of educational advance.

It was usually recognized too, that education and science went together. The winning of the Second World War had depended on trained scientists—it was sometimes called "the physicists war"—with some of the ablest scientists working in laboratories and "little back rooms" on electronics, radar and nuclear power. Scientists were the first to appreciate, however, that scientific discovery was international rather than national in character and that the effective use of science, which was to pose difficult moral problems in the 1950s and 1960s, depended on advances in the social as well as the natural sciences.

Education and science did not figure, however, in the list of major public preoccupations in Britain which were identified in a pre-election public opinion poll in June 1945. Housing came first, full employment second, and social security third. And by then as many as 84 per cent of the persons questioned, large numbers of them new voters, had made up their minds as to how to vote.

There were echoes of the First World War slogan "homes for heroes" in the placing of housing first, and full employment had been identified as a major goal of national policy in 1944, one of the Government's "primary aims and responsibilities". Social security had been the theme of the most popular of all war-time reports, that of the Liberal William Beveridge, who went on in 1944 to write *Full Employment in a Free Society*. The name of Beveridge became one of the best-known in the country, but, having won a war-time by-election he lost his seat at the general election in 1945. The plan was more important than the man.

Beveridge was to criticize the use of the term "welfare State". Yet it was such a State which the Labour Government of 1945 set out to create—with a comprehensive national health service figuring prominently as an extra plank in its programme. The day it was brought into effect, 5 July 1948, was treated as another D-Day and compared with the Allied landings in Normandy in 1944, and Labour was at pains to insist that it was a model for others to emulate.

It was to prove difficult in practice to reconcile the demand for such an active and greatly extended social policy with the economic facts of life which Britain faced in 1945. If there was sunshine in the sky, there were lots of clouds. Huxley had written little in his essays about economic problems, although he had been associated with *Political and Economic Planning*, an important cross-party opinion group, since its foundation in 1931. He

Photo © Imapress, Paris

In November 1940 the city of Coventry bore the brunt of a massive attack by German bombers aiming to destroy the aircraft and armaments factory complex on the city's outskirts. Bombs destroyed some 70,000 houses and the 14th-century Gothic cathedral of St. Michael, above.

believed in the possibilities of planning without devoting sustained attention to the most appropriate methods of carrying it out. Nor had most of the Labour leaders very clear ideas either.

In fact, Britain in 1945 faced very serious economic problems, short-term as well as long-term, which severely limited its choices and made it difficult to pursue long-term goals. On the day of the Japanese surrender in August 1945, J.M. Keynes—by then a main influence on economic policy-making—warned that Britain faced an "economic Dunkirk" as serious as the military Dunkirk five years before.

Existing foreign investment had been dissipated to pay for the War, there was a heavy new foreign debt, and there had been a serious destruction of shipping on which a crucial export drive depended. Many materials and foodstuffs were in shorter supply than they had been during the War, and rations were to fall lower after 1945 than they had been in the darkest years of the War. The abrupt ending of American Lend/Lease was a severe blow to an increasingly vulnerable economy, and an indispensable American loan was secured only on difficult and controversial terms. In consequence, the country remained in the grip of austerity. Indeed, bread, which had never been rationed during the War, was to be rationed in 1946. "That we should have to do such an unpopular thing", wrote the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "illustrates vividly the urgent shortages of the post-war years."

The words "shortage" and "crisis" were to be two of the most used words of the late 1940s, when the queue became a major national peacetime institution. "Economic man" had not been supplanted by "social man" as Huxley had suggested. The new Government had to deal not only with "economic man" in the shape of traditional entrepreneurs, desperately struggling to restore their businesses, or managers of newly nationalized industries, like coal and the railways, but with "spivs" (a new word) who dealt shadily in unprecedentedly substantial black markets. There were soon to be more cartoons about spivs than about any other subject, and they were to figure prominently in British films, many of them comedy films, which ▶

Photo © Imapress, Paris

During the Battle of Britain London was the target of violent and highly destructive bombing attacks by the Luftwaffe. The bombing of London continued intermittently throughout the war culminating in 1944 with the launching of V1 and V2 pilotless planes and rockets against the capital. Above, to escape the bombs many thousands of Londoners slept each night in London Underground stations. Right,* Shelter Scene *(1941), one of a series of drawings by the famous sculptor Henry Moore who was an official war artist from 1940 to 1942.

▶ had been given a new lease of life during the War and which evoke the mood of the War and the immediate post-war years more quickly than plays, novels or poems.

In evoking the mood of Britain in 1945 it would be misleading to concentrate entirely on the economics either of industry or of consumer austerity. One effect of the War had been to stimulate a lively interest in the arts, including music, and the interest was enhanced after the end of the War. *A Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts* had been set up during the War, and in 1946 this body gave way to the *Arts Council* with an annual Government grant at its disposal, modest though this was by the standards of some other European countries. "I do not believe it is yet realized what an important thing has happened", wrote Keynes, who was even more interested in the arts than in the diplomacy of the Anglo-American Loan. "State patronage of the arts has crept in."

Keynes made the remark in a BBC broadcast, and it was often through the BBC, which had provided both an inspiring and a consoling influence for the people of occupied Europe during the War, that the culture of the nation was most universally expressed. It was a sign of the times that Sir William Haley, the BBC's Director-General, planned the start of a new Third Prorgamme which would present the best not only in British but in European culture. For him—and for his colleagues—the community was "a broadly-based cultural pyramid aspiring slowly upwards". The pyramid would be served by three main Programmes, "differentiated but broadly overlapping in levels and interest, each Programme leading on to the other, the listener being induced through the years increasingly to discriminate in favour of the things that are more worthwhile".

This was a very British conception. So too was the philosophy that "each Programme at any given moment must be ahead of its public, but not so much as to lose their confidence". "The listener", Haley maintained, "must be led from good to better by curiosity, liking and a growth of understanding. As the standards of the education and culture of the

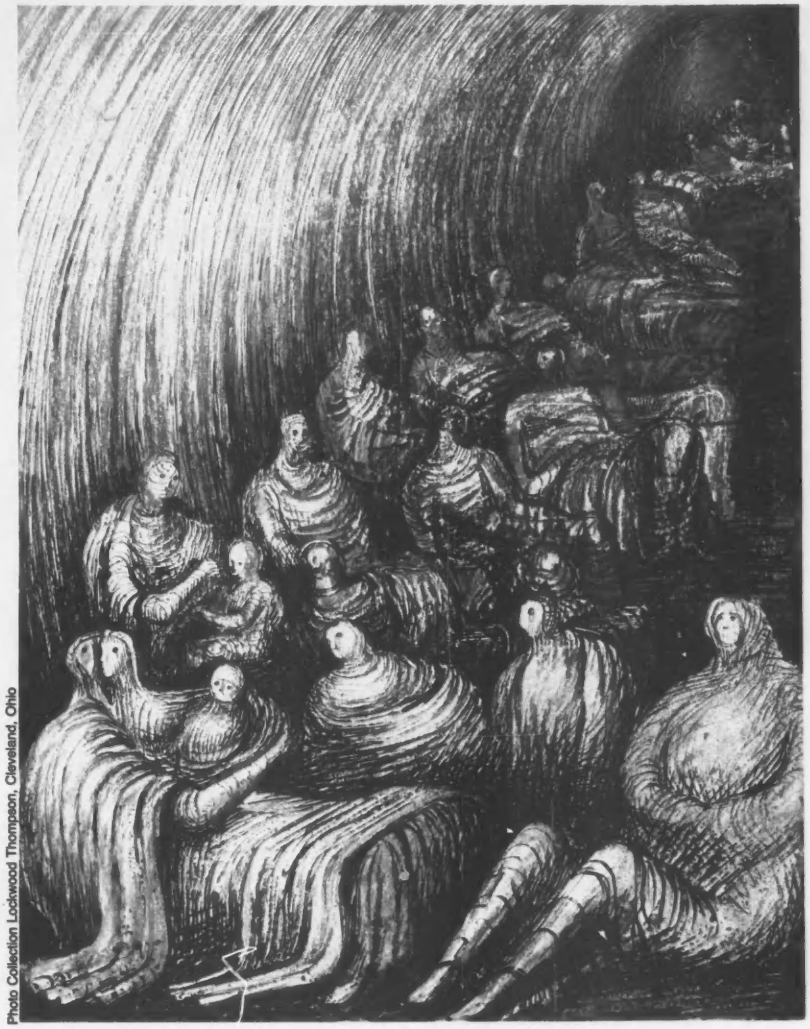


Photo Collection Lockwood Thompson, Cleveland, Ohio

community rise, so should the programme pyramid rise as a whole."

It was an essential feature of the mood of 1945 that there was optimism about the cultural pyramid. Social security reform was based on a sense of solidarity. Much other reform presupposed that "the education and culture of the community" would "rise as a whole" in conditions of peace. Economists might be pointing to the inherent difficulties in the British economy; sociologists, a smaller band, were pointing instead to increased social mobility and to higher levels of social aspiration.

Britain's Labour Foreign Secretary, Ernest Bevin, a trade unionist by commitment and career, had warned of the dangers of "poverty of desire". That poverty, it was hoped, would now disappear as completely as poverty affecting the body. The hope was to reach its pinnacle at the time of the Festival of Britain, in 1951, which seemed to follow naturally from the Allied victory six years earlier, and, characteristically, it was expressed as a public as well as a private hope. "1951", the Director-General of the Festival promised, "shall be a year of fun, fantasy and colour, a year in which we can, while soberly surveying our great past and our promising future, for once let ourselves go."

Science had its place in the new picture also. Two of the features of the Festival were displays of jet engines and penicillin, the one transforming travel, the other medicine. There was a Dome of Discovery, and most of the visitors to London during the Festival went there first. Many of them came from outside Britain, although in retrospect this was a period of severely restricted travel and people had to depend on rationed newsprint and broadcasting to find out what was happening in other parts of the world.

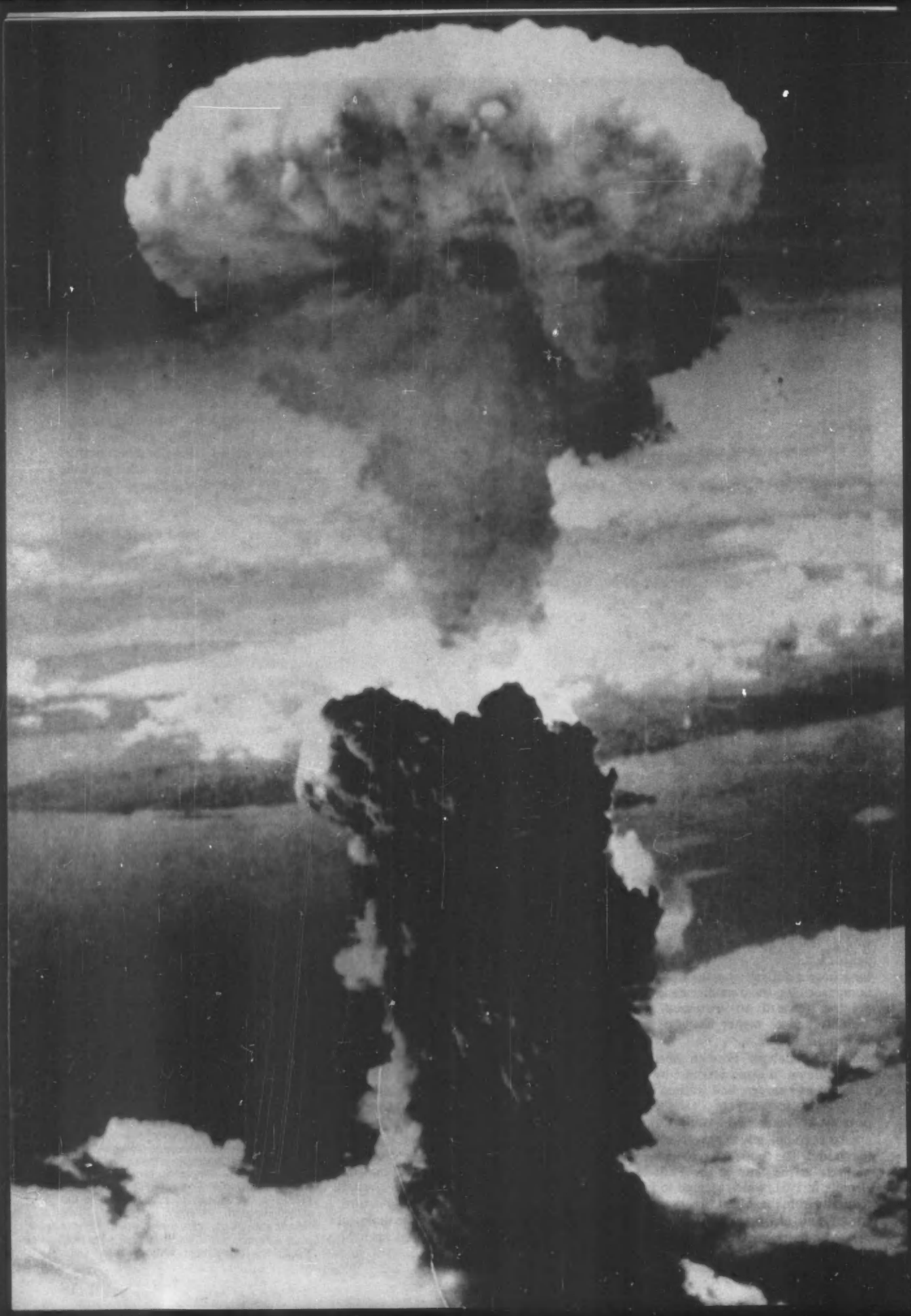
The BBC was broadcasting to the world in 1945 and, as the War ended, there was considerable interest in Britain in the world outside Europe. It was still considered likely in May 1945 that the war against Japan in the Far East would continue into the unforeseeable future, and once that war ended the political problems of Asia were forced into the newspaper headlines.

Inevitably issues of empire confronted a British Government which included a strong anti-imperial element and which wanted to settle them as quickly as possible. Already in 1945 the word most generally used to describe the inherited empire was "Commonwealth", and the Labour Government always spoke of it in this way; it had no sympathy with attempts by other imperial powers, as it saw them, to put back the clock of empire to 1939. In particular, the Government was anxious to speed up the process of implementing India's independence and to try to introduce welfare State policies in Africa.

There was a further strand in the thinking which related to Huxley's sense that a worldwide revolution was in the making. Great emphasis was placed on "development" even though the economics of development were expounded in such a fashion that the advantages of tropical development in Britain were stressed more than its advantages to the people who still had not won their political independence. There was a sense that the whole world was a great underdeveloped estate.

The biggest changes in the world scene were to become fully apparent only after 1947, when the Indian sub-continent secured its independence, and there was to be more than one crisis before the world map was redrawn. There were few people in 1945 who could have foreseen the future speed of change, and it was other actors in the drama, not the British, who were to determine that. Britain had with its Allies won the War, but it had lost power in the process. It took time and more than time to appreciate that, and again it was people outside Britain, not inside it, who were best able to judge the consequences. ■

ASA BRIGGS (LORD BRIGGS) *is a distinguished British social and economic historian who has been Provost of Worcester College, Oxford, since 1976 and Chancellor of the Open University since 1978. He is the author of many published works, including* A Social History of England *(1983), and a* History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom, *the fourth volume of which,* Sound and Vision, *appeared in 1979. He was made a life peer in 1976. His latest book is* The BBC: The first fifty years *(Oxford University Press, 1985).*



Putting the 'S' in Unesco

OF the many factors which combined in 1945 to bring about the creation of Unesco the most important were undoubtedly the historical climate of the day and the overwhelming political will of all nations, after the most destructive war ever, to establish mechanisms for the preservation of peace.

A third crucial factor, the importance of which has often been under-estimated, was the contribution of individual men and women who, driven on by passionately held personal convictions, left an indelible stamp on the infant Organization; outstanding among them were "the men who put the *S* in Une*S*co".

In fact, the original letter of invitation which resulted in the establishment of CAME (Conference of Allied Ministers of Education) spoke only of educational questions, although the ministers' discussions rapidly broadened to cover a wide range of cultural and some scientific topics. At the end of 1943, when it was proposed to widen membership of CAME, the Conference was still talking in terms of creating a permanent international organization "with the object of promoting co-operation in educational matters" (UNEO?).

When the United States became associated with CAME, the US delegation arrived with a plan for a *United Nations Organization for Educational and Cultural Reconstruction* (UNECREC?), while by January 1945 the US State Department was referring to the creation of a *United Nations Educational and Cultural Organization (UNECO?)*, and it was an organization with this provisional name that the Conference of November 1945 set out to establish.

It was against this background that, behind the scenes, a number of scientists were fighting desperately for the inclusion of Science both in the title of the organization and in the content of its programmes.

The fight was spearheaded by Joseph Needham, head of the British Scientific Mission in China, ably seconded by Julian Huxley. The documents reproduced below give an insight into the course of the struggle and into Needham's obstinate, and finally successful, single-mindedness.

On 29 December 1943, Needham outlined for the first time his conception of an International Science Co-operation Service:

I would like to indicate, in just a few words, what I feel is necessary in post-war International Science Co-operation. I believe that the time has gone when enough can be done by scientists working as individuals, or even as organized groups in universities, associations, etc., within individual countries, and contacting each other across national boundaries, as individuals. Science and Technology are now playing, and will increasingly play, so predominant a part in all human civilization, that some means whereby science can effectually transcend national boundaries is urgently necessary. The Science Co-operation Offices which have already been set up in the capitals of the United Nations are a piece of machinery which ought to continue after the war. The need for contact can be met neither by instituting "scientific attachés" at all Embassies, for that would be too subject to diplomatic formalities, nor by sending from one country to another industrial scientists whose loyalty is to particular commercial interests, for then their advice is likely to be neither disinterested nor unbiassed. What I should like to see is some kind of International Science Co-operation Service, whose representatives in all lands would have semi-diplomatic status and full governmental facilities in communication and transportation, but who would be drawn from either governmental or academic laboratories—to which after their period of service they might return—and would therefore be free from commercial entanglements. One of the immediate aims of such an International Service would be the conveyance of the most advanced applied and pure science from the highly industrialized Western countries to the less highly industrialized Eastern ones; but there would be plenty of scope for traffic in the opposite direction too.

Needham developed these ideas in three detailed memoranda which he sent to a large number of diplomats, politicians and men of science in the Allied countries, following up this initiative by personal contact with important personalities in the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union. From them he learned of the proposal for a United Nations Educational and Cultural Organization and he immediately saw this as suitable vehicle into which to integrate his International Science Co-operation Service. It was in his third memorandum, entitled "The Place of Science and International Scientific Co-operation in Post-war World Organization" and dated 15 March 1945, that the name "Unesco" appeared for the first time in a published document (see extract from Needham's own summary to Memorandum II below).

SUMMARY

1) An International Science Co-operation Service (ISCS) has been proposed. It is shown that there are immense tasks for the benefit of humanity in the rapid expansion and dissemination of knowledge lying before such an organization. Especially in rendering assistance to scientists and technologists in the more outlying parts of the world, there is much which is not being done, and which could not be done, by any other agency. ▶

The destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by atom bombs in August 1945 made the consequences and uses of scientific research the focus of intense concern, reflected in the debates which led to the creation of Unesco and defined the scope of its activities. Left, the mushroom cloud over Nagasaki, 9 August 1945.

Photo © Keystone, Paris

▶ 2) The United Nations Educational and Cultural Organization (UNECO), now being planned, could embody the machinery proposed above, subject to certain conditions being met. It would be desirable to include the word "Science" in the title, so that it should be named UNESCO, and to ensure that its constitution covers international interchange in Applied as well as Pure Science.

There was at first some opposition to Needham's proposal as the following extracts from a letter dated 11 May 1945 from a British Foreign Office official to a colleague in the Ministry of Production demonstrate:

(...) We have already had copies of Dr. Needham's remarks from several sources. Insofar as his anxiety about the position of science in the proposed United Nations Organization for Educational and Cultural Co-operation is concerned, I can assure you that the claims of science will certainly not be overlooked when the new organization begins its activities (...) Dr. Needham's observations were reported to the Executive Bureau of the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education by the Secretary of its Science Commission, Dr. J.G. Crowther. There was a general feeling against including the word "science" in the title of the organization on the ground that it implied a distinction between science and culture, which not merely the English language but British usage would not sustain (...)

Meanwhile, Julian Huxley had been pressing the case for science behind the scenes. On 14th August 1945 he wrote a letter (see opposite page) to Philip Noel-Baker at the British Foreign Office in which he summarized the main points of a conversation the two men had had earlier in the day and from which the following extracts are taken:

(...) a number of scientific men are concerned that the proposed new cultural and educational organization of the United Nations should be more definitely scientific than now appears. Culture does *not* cover all of science, any more than science covers all of culture. To use an Americanism, we want to put the S in UNESCO. This, it seems to us, could be achieved (1) by inserting "Scientific" in the title, (2) by having the organization essentially tripartite, one section dealing with education in the narrow sense, the second with culture in the sense of the humanities and arts, the third with science, pure and applied (...) Unesco should have definite positive functions in all sections—in education in actually providing certain types of educational facilities, in culture in positive stimulation of e.g. the arts, and in science in just such functions as you outlined (...)

Even when the Conference which was to establish Unesco began on 1 November 1945 the battle was not won. In his speech of welcome to the delegates the British prime minister, Clement Attlee, spoke at some length about education and culture but said not a word about science. Nevertheless, the mushroom clouds over Hiroshima and Nagasaki had made science and scientific research the burning question of the day and in her opening speech, Ellen Wilkinson, British minister of education and President of the Conference, declared:

Though Science was not included in the original title of the Organization, the British delegation will put forward a proposal that it be included, so that the title would run "Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization". In these days, when we are all wondering, perhaps apprehensively, what the scientists will do to us next, it is important that they should be linked closely with the humanities and should feel that they have a responsibility to mankind for the result of their labours. I do not believe any scientists will have survived the world catastrophe, who will still say that they are utterly uninterested in the social implications of their discoveries.

These words of Ellen Wilkinson summed up the anxieties felt by a majority of the delegates and on 6 November 1945, during the third session of the First Commission of the Conference (whose task it was to decide on the title of the Organization, to draft the preamble to the Constitution and to define its objectives and principal functions), "S" for Science was finally incorporated into the title of the new body henceforth to be known as ***The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.*** ■

In the forefront of the drive to include science in Unesco's activities was the British biochemist, sinologist and historian of science Joseph Needham (b. 1900), below.

Photo Unesco

16, Queen Anne's Gate,
London, S.W.1
Whitehall 7245
14th August 1945

The Rt. Hon. Philip Noel-Baker, M.P.
The Foreign Office,
Whitehall, S.W.1.

My dear Noel-Baker,

I thought you might like to have the heads of our discussion this morning in writing. Here they are:-

In the first place, a number of scientific men are concerned that the proposed new cultural and educational organisation of the United Nations should be more definitely scientific than now appears: Culture does not cover all of science, any more than science covers all of culture. To use an Americanism, we want to put the S in UNESCO. This, it seems to us, could be achieved (1) by inserting "Scientific" in the title, (2) by having the organisation essentially tripartite, one section dealing with education in the narrow sense, the second with culture in the sense of the humanities and arts, the third with science, pure and applied; the three to have, presumably, somewhat overlapping membership and being under a central coordinating committee; but they would be the main executive agencies. An alternative would be to have a totally separate United Nations Scientific Organisation, but I am opposed to the unnecessary multiplication of agencies on them being axed in periods of

As a first step towards country might be asked to sen in November (certainly not mo content with one, in view of t

1. The Royal Society, repr science in general. (I to the Foreign Secretar
2. The Association of Scie professional capacity (
3. The Parliamentary and S Institutes.

Later these delegates, together with one or two representatives of the bodies concerned, might be asked to meet the Government departments concerned for discussion.

I hope that foreign Governments will also be specifically asked to send adequate scientific representation. Possibly this may already have been done, but I should not imagine so. I think we want to be sure that younger men and the applied scientists are represented, as well as their elders and the more academic branches.

Then it would appear to be important, and indeed urgent, that the Government should have a scientific adviser on different questions of international scientific organisation. I would venture to suggest that Dr. Joseph Needham, F.R.S., now head of the British Scientific Mission to China, could be secured for a few months for this purpose (though I feel that he should not be kept too long from his most useful work in China).

In discussion, you raised the question whether there was not room for a separate scientific organisation to undertake more positive functions for social welfare, e.g. in relation to erosion, pest-control, health, etc. When I said that I felt it would be undesirable to duplicate the scientific section of the UNESCO, you said that in your view UNESCO would only be "cultural". On reflection, I fear I feel I must disagree with you. UNESCO should have definite positive functions in all sections - in education in actually providing certain types of educational facilities, in culture in positive stimulation of e.g. the arts, and in science in just such functions as you outlined. Further, apart from the undesirability in principle of multiplying agencies, there is the difficulty that one does not wish to dissipate the all-too-scarce scientific manpower available.

There does, however, seem to me to be a case for representation of science at a higher level - in relation to the (a) Social and Economic Council and to the (b) Security Council. In regard to (a) there will be need for coordination and advice on the scientific aspects of many organisations under the Council, e.g. health, food, UNESCO, etc., and I should imagine there will be similar need in relation to (b). In the latter case, you certainly want a strong scientific body to deal with problems such as research for war, including research on atomic bombs, etc. Whether these two high-level committees could be combined I do not know - probably not, but this whole question appears to me to need further discussion.

Many thanks for the sympathetic understanding you showed towards these problems.

Yours sincerely,

Julian S. Huxley

Photo © Public Record Office, London

Early days

by Julian Huxley

In this extract from the second volume of his autobiography, *Memories II* (1973), published here by kind permission of George Allen and Unwin Ltd., the late Sir Julian Huxley evokes the exciting period from his appointment in March 1946 as successor to Sir Alfred Zimmern as Executive Secretary of the Preparatory Educational, Scientific and Cultural Commission to his early days in Paris as the first Director-General of Unesco.

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THE offices of the Commission were in Carlos Place. The first time I entered its portals in my new capacity, I was very nervous, as if I were both a Headmaster and a boy entering school for the first time. However, Mrs Brunauer[1] knew the ropes and I soon found my feet in this strange job.

Once I had settled down, I felt that I should try to clarify my own ideas about the role of the Organization. So I took a fortnight off and went once more to stay with Ronald Lockley (with whom I had made the film *The Private Life of the Gannet* on an island off the Pembrokeshire coast); he was now occupying a farm on Dinas Head, also in Pembrokeshire. There, in the intervals of walks and talks, exploring the promontory and basking with my host in sheltered nooks overlooking the bird-haunted sandstone cliffs, I wrote a sixty-page pamphlet entitled *Unesco, Its Purpose and Its Philosophy* (see page 28).

In this, besides stressing its obvious duties in promoting cultural exchanges and giving help to the educational systems of backward (or, as we say now, "underdeveloped")[2] countries, I maintained that it could not rely on religious doctrine—there was strife between different religions and sects—or on any of the conflicting academic systems of philosophy. Unesco, I wrote, must work in the context of what I called *Scientific Humanism*, based on the established facts of biological adaptation and advance, brought about by means of Darwinian selection, continued into the human sphere by psycho-social pressures, and leading to some kind of advance, even progress, with increased human control and conservation of the environment and of natural forces. So far as Unesco was concerned, the process should be guided by humanistic ideals of mutual aid, the spread of scientific ideas, and by cultural interchange.

This was presented to the Commission and was ordered to be printed as an official document. But one Saturday, when I was about to go to Oxford to look for possible staff, I heard that Sir Ernest Barker, the historian, who had been appointed to the Commission in view of his work on the Committee of the League's Institute of Intellectual Co-operation (see page 6), was to be present at the meeting which was to discuss Unesco's role in philosophy. He and I had previously quarrelled over my attitude to established religion when I was Professor of Zoology at King's College, London, of which he was Principal, and I scented trouble, rightly suspecting that he would attack my pamphlet.

As an ardent churchman, he argued forcibly against Unesco's adopting what he called an atheist attitude disguised as humanism, and got the members to agree to state, when circulating my document, that it expressed merely my personal views, not those of the official Commission.

Looking back, I think he was right. Though Unesco has in fact pursued humanistic aims, it would have been unfortunate to lay down any doctrine as a basis for its work. Further, a purely humanist tone would have antagonized the world's major religious groups (...)

Meanwhile, there was the difficult business of recruiting staff: this I had to begin, whether or not I was eventually appointed Director-General. Some I appointed directly, like Joseph Needham, the eminent Cambridge biochemist, who was also interested in Chinese culture and in the history of science; and John Bowers, who was recommended to me by a war-time colleague for his first-hand experience of an underdeveloped country's basic needs.

One virtually appointed himself—with excellent results. I had to find someone to take charge of the Libraries section. Desmond Bernal had recommended an English woman librarian, but I was not sure of her competence, and asked Edward Carter, my Hampstead neighbour (and Librarian of the Royal Institute of British Architects), for advice. His response was simple—"Why not me?" (...)

Edward was excellent, especially in getting Unesco to set up good modern libraries in underdeveloped countries. Later, I was to see the one in southern Nigeria, and be delighted to find that it was not only housed in a fine building (as was to be expected from a man interested in architecture), but also well-stocked, and with many readers in its spacious rooms.

Others were recommended to me by friends. Thus Sir Kenneth Clark recommended the young Australian, Peter Bellew, as head of the Fine Arts section (...)

Still others were wished on me by their Governments. While the Preparatory Commission was still in London, Julien Cain the charming and learned head of

(1) Mrs. Brunauer, of the USA, had been assistant to the previous Executive Secretary, Sir Alfred Zimmern.
(2) With changing times and circumstances these countries are now referred to as the "developing" countries.

Photo Unesco

The British scientist, philosopher and educator Julian Huxley (1887-1975) was Unesco's first Director-General (1946-1948).

the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, came over with a young man called Jean Thomas, who was officially recommended by the French authorities as my Deputy. It was understood that, in return for waiving the right to nominate the top man, France should be the home of the Organization and one of its two deputy Director-Generals should be a Frenchman. Thomas and I got on excellently throughout my term of office, while Julien Cain became an influential member of the Executive Board. He and his gifted wife (she had once acted as Paul Valéry's secretary) became close friends of Juliette[3] and myself.

Professor Pierre Auger was also recommended by the French, for a post in the Science Department. He was an excellent physicist, balancing the biologically competent Needham, and eventually succeeded him as Head of the Department.

Alva, sociologist wife of the celebrated Swedish economist Gunnar Myrdal, took charge of the Social Sciences Division, and I myself asked John Grierson, the pioneer of documentary films, to look after the Cinema section of the Arts Department. Flora McGlade (always known as Mac) was already in my office, having been Zimmern's assistant on the Preparatory Commission. She stayed as one of my secretaries all through my time at Unesco. I also kept Friedl Rothschild, who had worked for me at P.E.P.,[4] but soon had to add others to my personal staff: Mrs Paulette Matthews, as a second secretary to deal with the flood of official correspondence; and Claude Berkeley, cousin of the composer of the same name, as my personal assistant, constantly called on to deal with complaints, and to prepare for the visits and travels I had to undertake.

Alfred Métraux took charge of most of the work in Anthropology and Sociology, while Guy, his younger brother, after working in various sections, later became the very efficient Secretary of the Commission dealing with Unesco's *History of Mankind*.

Emilio Arenales, nominated by Guatemala, was very useful in dealing with Latin American countries in general; with Manolo Jiménez for Mexican affairs and for dealing with internal procedure.

Then there was Dr Irina Zhukova, Russian by birth, who worked in the Physiological section of the Science Department, with special responsibility for liaison with WHO, the World Health Organization (...)

So I could run on. I secured another Frenchman, Michel Montagnier, to deal with arrangements for Conferences, which he did with great efficiency; a Swiss, André de Blonay, to cope with the affairs of national delegates, especially during General Conferences; while a Chinese Professor, Dr Kuo, was made Head of the Division of Education.

Later in the year an American, Walter Laves, was nominated by the USA to deal with questions of internal administration. These, unfortunately, often ▶

(3) Juliette Huxley, née Baillot, Julian Huxley's wife.
(4) *Political and Economic Planning*, a British independent cross-party opinion group.

caused trouble—there were jealousies between different Divisions—and once, I remember, I had to intervene between one Division and the staff responsible for preparing Unesco's budget. The Division Head thought that the Budget men should come to his office, while they expected that everyone, even Assistant Director-Generals, should come to them at their request. I cut the Gordian knot by inviting both parties to meet in my own office.

But much more taxing than such squabbles was establishing the programme for the coming year. This, together with an estimate of its cost, had to be laid before the next General Conference, which could in theory (and sometimes did in practice) cut out some item, refuse to grant necessary finance, or even press for new items to be included.

This task was made more difficult by an anomaly in the relations between the Executive Board and the Director-General. Under the original constitution, the Board was given a hand in framing the programme, in consultation, of course, with the Director-General. This led to so many disagreements, and such waste of time, that in 1948 the arrangement was altered: from then on, the Director-General had sole responsibility for preparing the Programme, while the Board could only offer comment or criticism.

This is merely one example of the way in which everything had to be improvised, and arrangements made to patch up the differences of interest between various Divisions, the Director-General and the Board. These were perhaps inevitable in a new organization—indeed a new *kind* of organization, for its scope was very much wider than that of the original League's Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. At any rate, they gave me plenty of headaches during my term of office (...)

Headaches, yes, but also interest, and indeed excitement—the excitement of being in charge of a vast new international experiment, a stimulus which kept me going through the gruelling two and a half years of my tenure of office.

Once I started work at Unesco's headquarters in Paris, I had to deal with the Executive Board over all major problems. In 1947, the Board numbered only eighteen members. These were chosen from the delegates of member-states, always one from the UK, France and the USA (and a Soviet delegate when the USSR joined Unesco), one from the country where the next conference was to be held, and representatives of other countries to make up its number.

In 1947, it included some very distinguished men—John Maud (later Lord Redcliffe-Maud) from Britain, Archibald MacLeish from the USA, Pierre Auger (soon to became head of Unesco's Natural Sciences Division), Dr. Photiades from Greece, Professor Paulo E. de Berrêdo Carneiro (later Chairman of the International Commission for a History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind), Sir Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, statesman and philosopher from India, Ronald Walker from Australia, etc. (...)

The original principle was that Board members should be men distinguished in education, the sciences and the arts, from different regions, but voting as individuals, not as representing their own country. It was a fine idea, but it did not work out. Board members *were* almost always distinguished, but they usually voted in favour of measures approved by their Governments. So eventually they became representatives of their own countries, as well as specialists in some field of Unesco's work.

Another difficulty arose over Unesco's budget. The Board was originally empowered to propose a budget sufficient to carry out the programme submitted to each General Conference. This led to many squabbles, members of the Board too often making proposals that would benefit mainly their own country or region. They had the duty of consulting the Director-General, but frequently the consultation was merely formal.

This system was quite illogical, and during my term of office the Director-General became responsible both for the details of the programme, and for presenting the budget estimate. Of course, he had to consult the Board and take into account any comments or objections they might make, but the unworkable system of divided authority was scrapped (...)

It had been laid down by the London Conference[5] that Unesco could seek help in technical matters from non-governmental International Agencies concerned with subjects within Unesco's purview; and, if necessary, aid in the creation of new ones. It was on Needham's advice that ICSU, the International Council of Scientific Unions, became the first of such bodies to be attached to Unesco. We provided it with rooms in Unesco's headquarters in Paris, and salaries for its staff: previously, the Cambridge professor who was its secretary—and sole executive—had to dictate all its correspondence in his College rooms!

The ICSU gave Unesco much valuable advice—on the peaceful uses of atomic energy, on regional centres for scientific co-operation and exchange of knowledge, on the calling of international scientific congresses, and on liaison with other International Agencies concerned with science, such as FAO for agricultural science and applied ecology, and WHO for medicine, physiology and social well-being.

(5) United Nations Conference for the Establishment of an Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, London, 1 to 16 November, 1945.

Soon after, I had a surprise visit from a wealthy American art-lover, a trustee of the Buffalo Art Gallery, and agreed to recommend that an International Commission on Museums should be attached to the cultural section of Unesco. Thanks to its advice (and that of other international bodies concerned with the arts), Unesco has done valuable work since then, both in giving financial aid to galleries and museums, and also in publishing and distributing excellent reproductions of little-known paintings, sculptures and architectural achievements from various countries, especially reproductions which could be used in schools.

In the hot summer of 1947, we also set up an International Theatre Institute (for drama, opera, films and ballet) at the insistence of Jack Priestley, an American called Kuntz and John Grierson. The committee responsible for this comprised many well-known names in dramatic circles, such as the French producer and actor Jean-Louis Barrault, Sir Tyrone Guthrie from England, and Lillian Hellman from the USA (...)

The Commission moved to Paris in late November, 1946, and we and other delegates had our offices in the former Hotel Majestic, where the Peace Conference was held after the First World War. During the Second World War, it was commandeered by the Germans, and my official room had the "distinction" of having been the office of the notorious Nazi Commandant of Paris. Thus my occupancy visibly symbolized the transition from war and racialism to peace and cultural co-operation.

The full Executive Board was now in daily session, discussing not only Unesco's terms of reference and its immediate activities, but also whom to nominate as Director-General.

Archibald MacLeish, the distinguished American writer and poet, who was also Librarian of Congress, had written a brilliant preamble to Unesco's Constitution, in which he had stressed Unesco's role in promoting Peace—"Peace through Education, Peace through Science, Peace through Culture, Peace everywhere in the hearts of men"—a starry-eyed hope rather than a guide to practical action.

The USA wanted him as Director-General, but he declined, saying he could not spare the time from his real work in literature. The British delegate, Sir John Maud, put forward my name, and there were one or two other candidates (...)

Eventually John Maud came to tell me that I had been duly elected, but for two years only, in place of the constitutional five (...)

Looking back today, I am grateful for having been appointed, but also grateful that I did not have to serve for five years: it would have been too geat a strain (indeed one later Director-General found the job too much for him and had to resign in the middle of his term). ■

Can we educate for world peace?

Extracts from the opening remarks by Archibald MacLeish during a radio discussion with Dr. F.L. Schlagle, President of the U.S. National Education Association, Mr. Herbert Emmerich, Director of the Public Administration Clearing House, and Dr. Francis Bacon, member of the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association, broadcast on 12 December 1945, one month after the establishment of Unesco.

Photo © IPS, Paris

US poet and Librarian of Congress Archibald MacLeish (1892- 1982) was Chairman of the Committee which drafted the Preamble to Unesco's Constitution.

"Of course we can educate for world peace. I'd be willing to go a great deal farther than that, I'd be willing, for my own part, to say that there is no possible way of getting world peace *except* through education. Which means education of the *peoples* of the world. All you can do by arrangements between governments is to remove the causes of disagreement which may become, in time, causes of war. But peace, as we are all beginning to realize, is something a great deal more than the absence of war. Peace is positive and not negative. Peace is a way of living together which excludes war, rather than a period without war in which peoples try to live together.

"But the difficulty with this kind of discussion is not the answers. The difficulty is the questions. And the trouble with the questions is that they are put—have to be put—in words which have lost their freshness and their reality of meaning (...)

"The real problem (...) is one that goes a lot deeper. It has to do with the effect on the human mind of words like 'international understanding' and 'education' and 'culture' (...)

"Before we can talk intelligently and meaningfully, therefore, about questions like education for peace, or the creation of international understanding, we have got to find the abrasives which will scrape these words down to their living meanings again. For some reason which I have never been able to understand, people are quite willing to believe that anything you call 'economics' is real and that you call 'politics' is exciting, but that anything you refer to under the general words which describe the life of the human mind is necessarily dull and stale and unrealistic and fuzzy (...)

"Actually, in the world we live in, which is very different from the world we think we live in, the relations of peoples to each other in terms of the things they think and the things they believe and the things they hope, in terms, that is to say, of their mental processes, of the things that distinguish them as men, are far more vivid—make, to be brief, far more sense than the economic and political arrangements between governments which capture the front pages of our minds as well as of our newspapers(...)

"I am not belittling the tremendous importance of economic solutions for economic difficulties and political cures for political mistakes. I am saying that these things, important as they are, are far less important than the creation of a world of words and images and mutual knowledge within which people may talk to each other.

"What we tried to do in London was to invent an international instrument which could help us all to create that world by the use of all the channels of communication—education and radio, press and scholarship, motion pictures and music, journalism in all its forms and living, enduring arts. If the question you are discussing is the question whether our international instrument will work, I am going to ask my colleagues Emmerich and Schlagle to put me down as voting Yes." ■

The application of science and art

UNESCO cannot be highbrow and confine itself solely to "pure" science, and "fine" art. It cannot do so, because it must concern itself with the whole of humanity, not only with the specialists, the highly educated *élite*, or the privileged few, and is expressly charged with advancing the ideals of equality of educational opportunity; and this is not possible if Unesco's concern with science and art is confined to the encouragement of the scientist and the artist and to the learned study of their achievements. It cannot do so for another reason—because its Constitution lays upon it the duty of advancing the common welfare of mankind. For the advancement of human welfare depends in the main upon the right application of science—physical, biological, psychological and social—and also, in the sphere of emotional and spiritual satisfactions, upon the application of the arts.

Unesco must therefore concern itself with the widest extension and the fullest application both of the sciences and of the arts. It has, of course, neither the right nor the wish to deal with the detailed problems of nutrition and agriculture, medicine and health, to however great an extent they depend on the applications of science, since, to cope with them, other Agencies of the United Nations have been created. With the scientific bases of these questions, however, it must concern itself and must therefore establish a proper liaison, with clear delimitation of functions, between itself and the FAO [Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations] and the World Health Organization. The same holds for those applications of the sciences which, because of their importance for labour welfare, fall to be dealt with by the ILO [International Labour Organisation], and of those which, because of their military importance, fall within the province of the Atomic Energy Commission of the Security Council.

Further, it is clear that practical problems of economics and of social structure and welfare, in so far as they are to be dealt with by an international body, must be the concern of the Economic and Social Council; while certain sectors of social anthropology, such as culture-contact between more and less advanced cultures (which include problems not only of applied science but also of art and literature and of education), will be the primary concern of the Trusteeship Council and of the section of the Economic and Social Council dealing with non-self-governing peoples.

This overlap, however, far from debarring Unesco from concerning itself with the applications of the sciences and the arts in general, makes it all the more imperative that it should do so, and should do so in a particular way. These other Agencies and organs of the United Nations which we have mentioned are concerned with particular fields or problems some larger, some more specialized. Unesco alone is charged with the comprehensive task of studying and promoting all the higher activities of man and their applications, and of doing so in a co-ordinated way, subject to a definite set of purposes.

What Unesco can do in this vast sphere of the practical application of creative knowledge and art is, accordingly, to study the problems in correlation, to endeavour to promote the best methods of translating theory into practice, and to give guidance as to right application. The terms *best* and *right* are not used merely in the technical sense of most immediately efficient, but as definitely implying value-judgement. It is possible to exploit new agricultural methods in a way that is in the long run technically disastrous to agriculture itself, by causing soil exhaustion or erosion, but it is also possible to do so in a way which is technically sound but socially wrong—by causing over-population, for instance, or by ruining natural beauty or causing the extinction of striking or interesting species of animals and plants, or by creating a depressed agricultural class with unduly low standards of living. Similarly, it is possible to devote too much attention to exploiting the discoveries of mechanical, physical and chemical science, to the grave detriment of interest in the arts and appreciation of the value of beauty in everyday life and of artistic creation as a human activity; while a contrary effect is also all too readily possible, when religious prejudice or cultural obscurantism puts obstacles in the way of scientific research and new knowledge, or their beneficent applications.

Again, there are fields with which other Agencies are not expressly or immediately concerned. No other United Nations Agency deals with the important question of seeing that the arts are properly and fully applied, or that provision is made for satisfying man's need for aesthetic enjoyment, whether of scenery and natural beauty, of the everyday furniture of life, of buildings and cities, or of great works of art and music and literature. Nor is any other Agency concerning itself with such important applications of the sciences as the disciplining of the mind to produce so-called mystical experience and other high degrees of spiritual satisfaction; or with the application of psychology to the technique of government, or to preventing the abuse or the exploitation of democracy.

Thus in this general field Unesco should pursue three main objectives. First, it should discover what applications of science and art are not being considered by other United Nations organizations, and then pick out from among them those it thinks most important to promote or to study. Secondly, it should study the practical applications of science and art as a particular social problem, to discover what are the reasons which prevent, frustrate or distort them, what are the effects of undue speed or undue delay. Such a study should be of considerable help in promoting the technical efficiency of this process—a problem which will become steadily more pressing with the increase of scientific knowledge and of social complexity. And the third objective, the most difficult though perhaps also the most important, is to relate the applications of science and art to each other and to a general scale of values, so as to secure a proper amount and rate of application in each field. If such a task were satisfactorily carried out, and if its findings were acted upon, this would constitute one of the most important contributions towards discovering and pursuing the desirable direction of human evolution—in other words, true human welfare. ■

Julian Huxley

Extract from Unesco Its Purpose and its Philosophy. *This document was written by Julian Huxley during a fortnight's holiday taken in 1946 shortly after his appointment as Secretary-General of the Preparatory Commission.*

Photo Unesco

From premises in Grosvenor Square and Belgrave Square in London, Unesco moved to the Hotel Majestic in Paris in 1946. Photo shows a salon at the Majestic transformed into a conference room.

Finding a home for Unesco

DURING 1945, the question arose of where the proposed new Organization was to be situated. A number of countries had expressed their desire to provide a home for the Organization, but France, which still housed the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation (IIIC, see page 6), an offshoot of the former League of Nations, pressed her claim with particular forcefulness.

The French representatives in London seem to have interpreted a certain reticence about Paris as the location of the Organization on the part of the British Government as a desire to see Unesco situated in London. This, however, was far from being the case.

In common with many other countries, Britain was concerned about the French desire to prolong the life of the IIIC, which the French believed should provide the Secretariat for Unesco. Most other governments were anxious to make a complete break with the institutions of the old League of Nations. When this was accepted by the French Government, the way was clear for Paris to become the home of Unesco headquarters. The documents reproduced below illustrate the final stages in the process which led to agreement on Paris as the seat of Unesco.

Extract from a Foreign Office memorandum dated 30 June 1945.

(...) I doubt very much whether we shall wish to have an organization permanently on our hands in London, and in these circumstances it seems to me important that we should assure the French that these plans(*) are in no way designed to rush Allied nations into decisions which do not take proper account of French interests (...)

(*) The plans referred to were for the convening in London of the Conference which was to establish Unesco.

OUT FILE

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on]

[EN CLAIR] SPECIAL (WORLD ORGANISATION)

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO PARIS

No.2712 Saving 10th November, 1945.

Repeated to: Washington No.11340
Moscow No.5974.

* * * *

Commission 4 of the United Nations Educational Conference this afternoon unanimously decided to recommend to the Conference that Paris should be the site of the proposed Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

2. The motion in favour of Paris was made by our delegation supported by the United States, Chinese, Belgian, Brazilian, Colombian and other delegates by acclamation.

3. Conference is still in Commission stage. London is recommended as site of Interim Commission which will be created to prepare for the first meeting of the new organisation.

Photo © Public Record Office London

Confidential telegram sent on 10 November 1945 by the British Foreign Office informing the French authorities that their offer to provide Unesco with a seat in Paris had been accepted.

Letter from Léon Blum, chief French delegate to the Conference for the Establishment of an Educational and Cultural Organization (London 1 to 16 November 1945), to Clement Attlee, prime minister of the United Kingdom.

Claridge's
Brook Street, W.1.
Sunday 4 November

My dear friend,

You will remember that, last Wednesday, when I arrived at Downing Street, I had just left our friend Ellen Wilkinson. You will no doubt also recall that with regard to a subject close to our hearts in France—the location in Paris of the future educational and cultural organization—she had assured me that we should not lack British support, unless there should be opposition on the part of the United States. I spoke about this in the most frank and open manner with the head of the American Delegation, Mr. Archibald MacLeish, and have, in my turn, been able to assure Ellen Wilkinson that the opposition in principle that she seemed to fear does not exist. The American Government has taken no advance decision. The Delegation has its hands free and, in Mr. MacLeish's opinion the French request would be heard sympathetically by his colleagues.

Please forgive me for keeping you posted about this matter, apparently minor, yet in reality rather important.

Your faithful friend,
Léon Blum

Perhaps I shall be fortunate enough to see you again for a moment or two before you leave. I am taking the liberty of sending you a copy in French of a book I wrote in one of the first of my prisons, the English translation of which is now being completed by William Pickles.

Reply from Mr. Attlee to M. Léon Blum.

10, Downing Street,
Whitehall.
7th November, 1945

My dear friend,

Thank you for your letter of November 4th. As you know, the British attitude to the question of the siting of the Educational and Cultural Organization is at present under consideration; and I hope my colleagues will be able to let you know our views shortly.

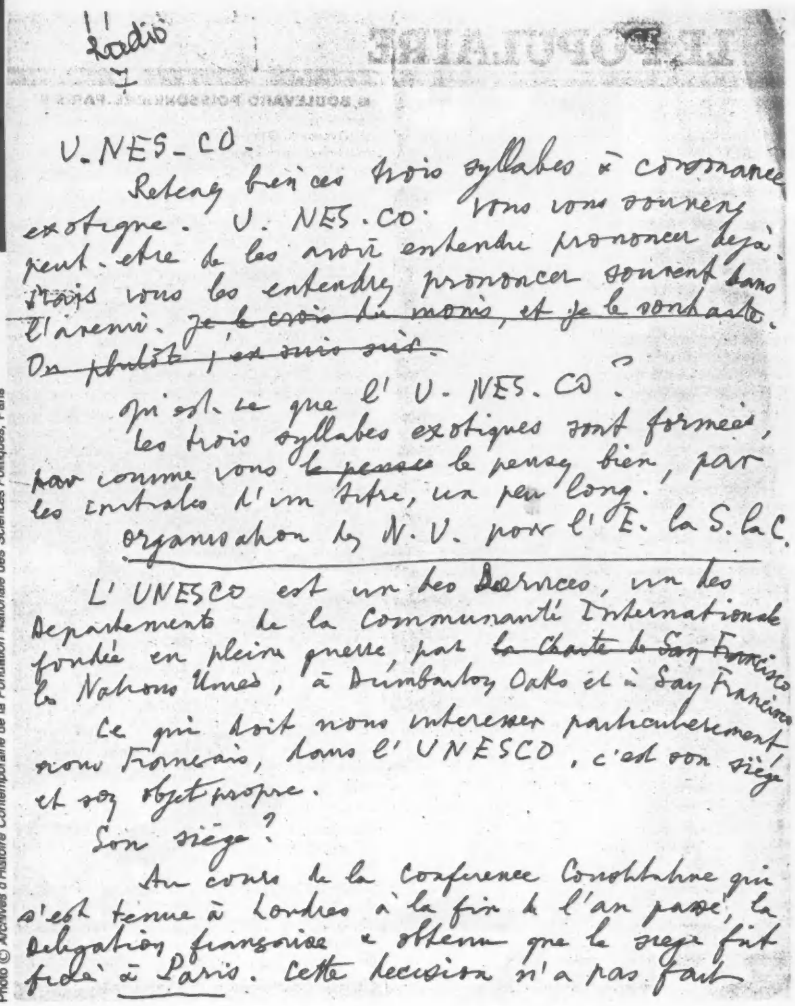
Thank you also for sending me a copy of your book "A l'Echelle Humaine". I shall always value it and the friendly inscription which you have written in it.

It was a great pleasure to meet you again after all these years.

Yours ever,
C.R. Attlee

*Extract from the **Final Act** of the United Nations Conference for the Establishment of an Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.*

After consideration of these drafts and proposals the Conference drew up a Constitution establishing an Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and an Instrument establishing a Preparatory Educational, Scientific and Cultural Commission. The Conference also adopted the following Resolution:
"The seat of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization shall be in Paris.
"This Resolution shall not in any way affect the right of the General Conference to take decisions in regard to this matter by a two-thirds majority."



11 Radio
7

U.NES.CO.

Retenez bien ces trois syllabes à consonance exotique. U. NES. CO. Vous vous souviendrez peut-être de les avoir entendu prononcer déjà. Mais vous les entendrez prononcer souvent dans l'avenir. ~~Je le crois bien moins, et je le souhaite.~~ ~~On pense bien que ces mots sont~~

Qu'est-ce que l'U. NES. CO ?

Les trois syllabes exotiques sont formées, par comme vous le pensez bien, par les initiales d'un titre, un peu long.

organisation des N. U. pour l'E. la S. la C.

L'UNESCO est un des Services, un des Départements de la Communauté Internationale fondée en pleine guerre, par ~~la Charte de San Francisco~~ les Nations Unies, à Dumbarton Oaks et à San Francisco.

Ce qui doit nous intéresser particulièrement nous Français, dans l'UNESCO, c'est son siège, et son objet propre.

Son siège ?

Au cours de la Conférence Constitutive qui s'est tenue à Londres à la fin de l'an passé, la délégation française a obtenu que le siège fut fixé à Paris. Cette décision n'a pas fait

Photo © Archives d'Histoire Contemporaine de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Paris

Extract from a radio broadcast made by M. Léon Blum early in 1946.

U-NES-CO

Do not forget these three exotic-sounding syllables.

U-NES-CO—perhaps you have already heard them somewhere. You will certainly hear them repeated often in the future. These three exotic-sounding syllables are, as you have already guessed, made up of the initials of a rather long name.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

Unesco is one of the sections, one of the departments of the International Community, founded by the United Nations in the midst of war, at Dumbarton Oaks and at San Francisco.

What is of particular interest to all citizens of France is the location and the purpose of Unesco.

Its headquarters?

During the Conference for the establishment of Unesco which was held in London at the end of last year, the French Delegation managed to ensure that its headquarters would be sited *in Paris*. This decision did not make a great impact at the time, and I regret this because it was an important decision. The representatives of over 40 nations, gathered together from every continent, agreed in the opinion that the Paris of the Liberation remained the natural centre of international culture and spirituality. The Preparatory Commission is still in London, but the installation of Unesco in Paris will begin next autumn. The Hotel Majestic, made available by the Government of the Republic, will be Unesco's provisional headquarters.

Its purpose

The London Conference defined Unesco's purpose at the highest spiritual plane. The United Nations, determined to create and organize a peaceful world, are aware that the foundations of Peace are as much psychical, sentimental, and spiritual, as political, economic and social. The spirit of Peace is one of the conditions, one of the elements of Peace. *The spirit of Peace* pre-supposes mutual knowledge and understanding between peoples; it implies the co-operation and solidarity of all States in the wide fields of *Education*, *Scientific knowledge*, and *General culture* (...) ■

Script of a radio broadcast early in 1946 during which Léon Blum presented to the French people the new organization which had just been created in London. As head of the French delegation to the Conference which established Unesco, Léon Blum had successfully argued that the seat of Unesco should be in Paris.

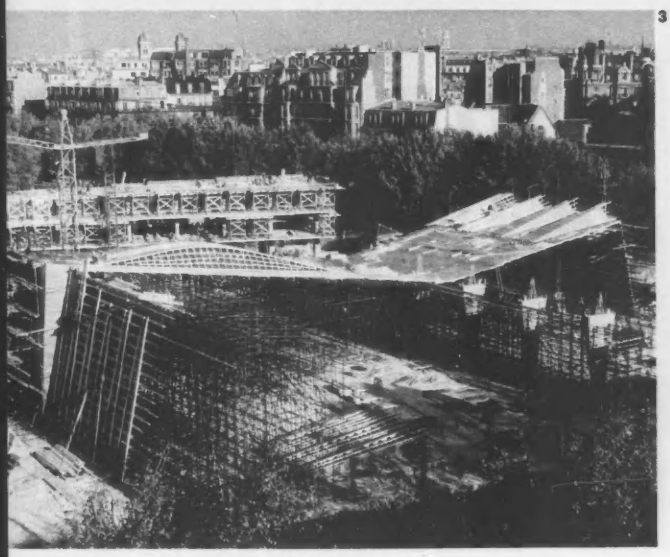
In 1936 the French writer and socialist leader Léon Blum (1872-1950) became premier of the first Popular Front government, supported by a coalition of parties of the left which broke up in 1938, the year in which this photo was taken. A supporter of a firm policy against Hitler, Léon Blum was arrested in September 1940 and while in prison wrote a book,* A l'Echelle Humaine *(For All Mankind), in which he expounded his humanist conception of socialism and urged his party to resist. Deported to Dachau and then Buchenwald in 1943, he was liberated in 1945. In 1946 he formed an all-socialist government which brought in the institutions of the Fourth Republic.

Photo René Dazy © Edimedia, Paris

Foundations

1

2



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Inaugurated on 3 November 1958, Unesco House was built on a site previously occupied by a cavalry barracks to the rear of the Ecole Militaire, on a three-hectare site made available by the French Government. Photos 1 and 2 show the progressive demolition of the last remaining barrack buildings, top right hand corner of site, and early stages in the construction of Unesco's new home. Plans for the new buildings were prepared by three great contemporary architects: Marcel Breuer (United States), Pier Luigi Nervi (Italy) and Bernard Zehrfuss (France), and approved by an international panel whose members included Le Corbusier (Charles-Edouard Jeanneret) and Walter Gropius, the founder of the famous Bauhaus school of design, art and architecture. Photos 3 and 4 show the Conference building during construction. This fine structure has fluted walls of unequal height which slope outwards, supporting the extremities of the roofing. This sloping roofing, set on two asymmetrical levels, rests at its centre on a row of six concrete pillars. Photo 5, over a hundred tons of concrete were poured in the construction of the soaring portico which marks the entrance on the southwest-facing façade of Unesco headquarters and which has been described as "a triumph of imaginative engineering".

Photos 1, 2 and 3. R. Szczesnowicz, Unesco
Photo 4. Unesco
Photo 5. © G. Bozelec

Photo Unesco/Eclair Mondial

Unesco officially became fully operational on 4 November 1946, when Greece became the twentieth State to deposit the instrument of ratification at the Foreign Office in London. It was on this date, the fortieth anniversary of which will be commemorated by the* Unesco Courier *next year, that a great ideal became a practical reality. The First General Conference of Unesco opened in Paris on 20 November. Above, the inaugural session of the Conference which was held in one of the great amphitheatres of the Sorbonne.

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Just Published

In the industrially developed world many of today's most urgent problems, such as environmental pollution, nuclear power, and unemployment caused by technological innovation, lie on the frontiers between science and technology. By contrast, Third World countries are faced with the problem of too few scientists, too little research, and insufficient funds for technological development. In *Science and Technology in World Development*, Robin Clarke examines the relationships between science, technology and society in both the developed and the developing countries. He believes that a global view is essential because of the close links that aid and trade have forged between rich and poor countries. Only then can we see how research has ignored key issues for Third World development, and concentrated on matters relevant only to the rich and privileged.

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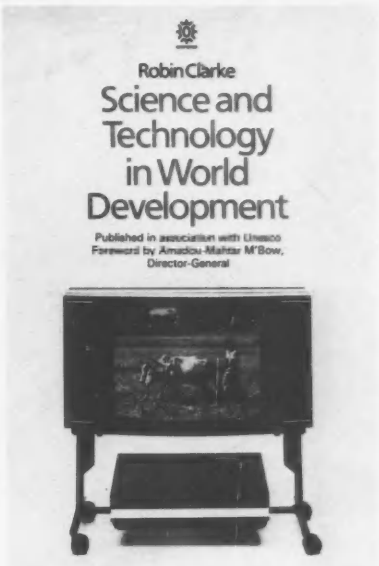
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